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ABSTRACT

Proceedings are summarized of a national conference which explored the nature and consequences of prejudice in adolescents and developed strategies for its reduction in the schools. Held in 1976, the conference was sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the University of California's School of Education. Participants included school superintendents, deans of schools of education, and representatives of professional associations and federal education agencies. The main address was a report of research conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of California. It attempted to measure the phenomenon of prejudice, analyze its sources, and suggest interventions which might be undertaken by educational institutions. Three major reaction papers were delivered which addressed the research firdings in terms of a systems perspective, an administrator's viewpoint, and instructional implications. The conference acknowledged that significant prejudice exists among adolescents and that new strategies are needed at many levels. These include policy formulation, analysis of structural constraints, preservice and inservice teacher education, curriculum, classroom, and community involvement. (Author/AV)

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ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

Summary of the Proceedings and Recommendations

of a

National Invitational Conference

Sponsored by

The University of California, Berkeley

and the

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

SP 012 855

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ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

A NATIONAL INVITATIONAL CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Thursday, January 15, 1976

8:30 a.m. — Registration

10:00-12:15 — General Session
University Campus, Boalt Hall

Presiding
Merle Borrowman, Dean
School of Education
University of California, Berkeley

Welcome and Greetings
Ira M. Heyman
The Vice Chancellor
University of California, Berkeley

Maxwell E. Greenberg, Vice Chairman
National Executive Committee,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Adolescent Prejudice:
Findings & Implications

Charles Y. Glock
University of California, Berkeley

Jane A. Piliavin
University of Wisconsin

Robert Wuthnow
University of Arizona

1:00 — Reactions & Interactions

Presiding

Merrill Shanks, Director
Survey Research Center
University of California, Berkeley

Adolescent Prejudice:

A Systems Perspective

Jane Mercer
University of California, Riverside

3:15-4:45 — Small Group Sessions
Exploration of Alternatives

5:00-6:30 — Reception by the Chancellor
University House

7:30 p.m. — Dinner Session

Presiding

Norvel Smith
Associate Vice-Chancellor Student Affairs
University of California, Berkeley

Adolescent Prejudice:
An Administrator's Viewpoint

Gordon L. McAndrew
Superintendent of Schools
Gary, Indiana

Friday, January 16, 1976

8:30 a.m. — Morning Session

Presiding

James L. Jarrett
Professor of Education
University of California, Berkeley

9:00-10:30 — Adolescent Prejudice:
Educational Implications

A. Harry Passow
Teachers' College
Columbia University

10:45-12:15 — Small Group Sessions
Strategies for Action

12:30-1:30 — Summary Session

1:45 — Summary Session

Presiding

Theodore A. Freedman
National Director, Program and Community Service,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Reports from the Strategy Sessions

Closing Comments
Future Directions

Merle Borrowman
Charles Y. Glock
Eleanor Blumenberg
Western Director of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Conference Coordinators

Merle Borrowman
James Jarrett
Theodore A. Freedman
Eleanor Blumenberg
Charles Y. Glock

Arrangements

Katherine M. Stauffer
University of California, Berkeley

A. James Ruderman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS

A National Invitational Conference on adolescent prejudice and its implications for the schools was held on January 15 and 16, 1976 in Berkeley, California. Sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in cooperation with the University of California's School of Education (and supported also by The Rockefeller Foundation and Harper & Row, Publishers), the primary purpose of the Conference was to explore the nature and consequences of prejudice in adolescents and to develop strategies for its reduction in the schools. Starting point for the two days of intensive discussion was an important, newly-released study which attempted to measure the phenomenon, analyze its sources, and suggest interventions which might be undertaken by educational institutions.

Entitled Adolescent Prejudice, the study, published in the fall of 1975 by Harper & Row, was conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of California for the Anti-Defamation League as part of a ten-year program of research on Patterns of American Prejudice and various aspects of anti-Semitism. Dr. Charles Y. Glock, Professor of Sociology at the University, directed the research group, which included Jane A. Piliavin, Robert Wuthnow, and Metta Spencer.

Initially, the plan was to invite a small working group of scholars and school practitioners to focus on the questions posed by the research, after which they would design models which could be tested in schools to see if they could indeed contribute toward prejudice reduction. An important component of these models would be the attempt to increase "cognitive sophistication" in teenagers to attempt -- to use Dr. Glock's phrase -- to "make prejudice intellectually indefensible." This would be effected by introducing curriculum into schools to help students understand group differences and to recognize when they are falsely accounted for, as well as to study about the differences themselves, real and perceived. From the beginning the outer limits of the Conference attendance list were forced to expand, as numerous educators requested that the Conference coordinators make sure to include them.

And so in Berkeley there were almost 100 participants, gathered from across the nation. The Conference attracted school superintendents from New York, Massachusetts, Indiana and Texas, to name but a few of the states from which the participants came. Deans of the more prestigious schools of education in the country were present, as well as representatives of almost every influential professional association including the American Association of School Administrators, the National Council for the Social Studies, National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Also in attendance were representatives of the United States Office of Education, the National Institute of Education, and the United States Civil Rights Commission. Coverage in the press and the other media was extensive.

An explanation of the general background against which the conferees met was included in the call to the Conference. This background information pointed out that one of the recurrent themes in American life is the oft-expressed belief that "the next generation" would not be prone to the racial and

religious bigotry that has plagued much of America's past. The conventional wisdom suggests that young people, unlike their parents, are rejecting stereotyped thinking and negative beliefs about minority groups and refusing to countenance discriminatory behavior. Incidents hinting at the contrary on many of our beleaguered high school campuses are discounted or treated as normal aberrations which time and contact will erase. A pervasive form of "benign neglect" of cross-cultural attitude formation is the order of the day for most classrooms, if not by design then by default.

It was pointed out to participants that, comforting as a new era in intergroup relations might be, there is little evidence, either impressionistic or empirical, to substantiate its arrival. Until very recently little has been known about prejudice in the young. Despite scattered research, there has been no substantial attempt to measure the extent of prejudice in teenagers or to analyze its sources and consequences. The study conducted by Survey Research Center has begun to remedy this lack and, in so doing, shatters the conventional wisdom. According to the researchers, its findings are disconcerting and strike hard at what schools do and don't do in regard to helping young people learn to accept and respect social and intellectual diversity.

New strategies are indicated at many levels -- in policy formulation, analysis of structural constraints, pre-service and in-service teacher education, curriculum, classroom and community. The conferees gathered with this change in mind.

The format of the Conference basically was as follows:

1. A general presentation by Clock et al of the findings of the Adolescent Prejudice study, discussion of the findings in broader perspectives, and the implications for the school.

2. The reading of major reaction papers in which the findings were addressed in terms of a system's perspective, an administrator's viewpoint, and instructional implications. These papers were presented by Jane Mercer, University of California at Riverside; Gordon McAndrew, Superintendent of Schools, Gary, Indiana; and Harry Passow, Teachers' College, Columbia.

3. Small group sessions at which strategies for dealing with the problems of prejudice were set forth in terms of recommendations to the total Conference.

4. Summary sessions in which the small group conclusions were shared and integrated into a general framework and strategy for action.

Discussions and deliberations throughout the two-day meeting were lively and intense. Questions raised by academicians about the research methodology and the researchers' conclusions added to the ferment and excitement of the process. Early in the proceedings it became clear that school practitioners, in particular, agreed that prejudice and institutionalized racism are major problems in the schools and in contemporary society. It was the sense of the discussion, as one Conference reporter put it, that prejudice among adolescents and indeed within the whole clientele

of the public schools endures in spite of the earnest efforts of educators at all levels to comprehend its manifestations and to reduce its destructive consequences. Toward this end, she suggested, public schools need to so design their operations that the methods by which prejudice is created and reenforced become understood and managed and, in the end, rendered less effective.

In a similar vein, another reporter argued that schools could not wait until social scientists can precisely document prejudice before acting to help eradicate it. The important fact, he said, is that prejudice damages youths and serves to deny them equal educational opportunities. Social scientists should continue their efforts to refine their research instruments and to measure the extent of prejudice more precisely. However, the existence of prejudice cannot be doubted and its impact creates problems which demand urgent and concerted action by educators.

It became clear early in the Conference that while there would be no agreement as to how much payoff the Glock recommendations might have in school settings, there was consensus that they might well be tested in and of themselves and also as part of systematic approaches to reform. Most significantly, as a third reporter pointed out, the significant contribution of the study is the visibility it brings to the problem of prejudice. With this general agreement, listening carefully yet skeptically and critically to the prepared papers, the participants moved toward their own agenda, one which they had obviously brought to the Conference with them -- the sharing of ideas and exchanging of notions which might then be translated into programs for action.

Highlights of the Conference papers and a synthesis of the small group recommendations follow.

ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE: FINDINGS & IMPLICATIONS

Highlights of the Presentation

by

Charles Y. Glock

Adolescent Prejudice* had its origin in a grant of $500,000 to the University of California from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to support the conduct of a research program on anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice. The grant, given without strings attached except for the subject of study, left it entirely to the University to decide how and on what issues the investigation should be pursued.

Adolescent Prejudice is the last of seven studies which have been produced under this grant. Other studies have sought to probe the incidence of prejudice in the nation at large, to explore the experience of prejudice and the expression of it in the black community, and to examine the interrelationships between religion and prejudice. We also undertook a special study, early in the grant, to assess the impact of the Eichmann trial on attitudes toward Jews and toward Israel. In addition, the research program included a study of the role which bigotry has played in American politics past and present.

* * *

Our decision to make adolescent prejudice the subject of study was motivated by two considerations: 1) that if prejudice is learned, it is likely to be learned while one is a youth; and 2) that a study focused on youth would enable some assessment of the school's performance in controlling prejudice and possibly afford suggestions for improving that performance.

Our resources were not sufficient to support a national study. Moreover, as we thought about it we concluded that a nationwide study was possibly not the best vehicle for investigating the causes of adolescent prejudice, which is what we were primarily interested in. We wanted the study to afford some assessment of the effects of prejudice on young people from different religions and racial backgrounds interacting with each other. This called for the concentrated study of youth in particular school systems rather than a study of a random sample of students in the nation at large. We decided to focus on three school systems. Given our special interest in anti-Semitism and in studying the effects of interreligious contact on that form of prejudice, we wanted the school systems to vary in the proportion of Jewish students with them. By comparing results for the three school districts we would thus be enabled to assess the effects of the size of the Jewish presence on anti-Semitism.

In the best of all worlds we would also have liked to vary the ratio of black to white students. To do so, however, would have produced too complex a

* Charles Y. Glock, Robert Wuthnow, Jane Allyn Piliavin, and Metta Spencer, Adolescent Prejudice, New York, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975.

design and would have required studies in many more than the three school systems than our resources allowed. To compromise, what we decided on was to seek school districts in which black students were present in roughly equal proportion....

As we began to try to implement the planned research design, we experienced considerable resistance on the part of school districts invited to participate in the study. (Dr. Glock suggested that the resistance was because of missed class time and also because the study was conceived as controversial. He went on to say that after many such experiences he succeeded finally in gaining the cooperation of three school districts, but only on the promise that their names would be disguised in the final report.)

Despite all these misgivings, we experienced no difficulty whatever in the process of collecting the data for this study -- not a single parental complaint, and no teacher or student hostility. More than 4500 students participated, and we had the cooperation of upwards of 100 teachers and administrators.

Since we are obliged to disguise the names of the three communities, we have called them Commutertown, Oceanville, and Central City. All three communities lie within 200 miles of New York City. At the time we did our study, 43% of the students in Commutertown were Jewish, 23% were Jewish in Oceanville, and virtually none (less than 1%) in Central City were Jewish. The racial mix in the three schools was about the same, ranging between 14% to 16%. Schools, however, were not as comparable in other respects as we would have liked, differing in size and key population characteristics.

In the three school systems the research instrument was administered in three sittings to all students in the 8th, 10th, and 12th grades. By including all students in a class, we were able to ask students to name their best friends in class and to learn by looking at their friends' questionnaires whether they were of the same or of different racial and religious backgrounds. We chose to study students in three grades rather than in only one because we wanted to assess the similarities and differences in the expression of prejudice by youngsters of different ages.

As mentioned earlier, our purpose was to investigate the causes of prejudice rather than to measure its extent. We begin our analysis, however, by looking at just how much prejudice youngsters in these three schools are harboring.

* * *

Prejudice has been conceptualized as having a belief component, prejudice being indicated by a person harboring negative beliefs about an out-group and assuming those beliefs to be true of all members of that out-group. In addition to belief, a feeling component to prejudice has also been conceptualized...A third component of prejudice is behavioral -- a willingness to act out negative beliefs and attitudes in unfriendly or hostile behavior (sometimes called discrimination). I report first on what we learned about the belief component.

It was anticipated that responses would reveal at most a modest amount of hostility toward Jews. Given the mounting evidence of a reduction in attitudinal anti-Semitism in the United States, it seemed reasonable to expect

that the decline would have reached its nadir among adolescents and that they would be even less prone to hostile responses than their elders.

It was also expected that what adolescents imagined Jews to be like would be more favorable in Commutertown and Oceanville, the two communities where there are a substantial number of Jews in school, rather than in Central City, where there are virtually none. There were no grounds to anticipate that our findings would in any way contradict the consistent results of other studies of an association between greater contact and less prejudice.

Between black and white teenagers, we judged that the blacks would probably express more hostility. Other studies have shown low economic status to be associated with prejudice, and we knew that the families of black students in our samples were economically poorer than the average of the families of white students.

Finally, it was expected that there would be a more favorable response in all communities to teenage than to adult Jews.

Not one of these predictions proved correct. On the contrary, there remains 1) a significant amount of hostility toward Jews among these adolescents, 2) the hostility is greater rather than less the larger the Jewish presence in the school setting, 3) hostility toward Jewish teenagers is greater than toward Jewish adults, and 4) in all three communities black youngsters showed less rather than more anti-Semitism than their non-Jewish white counterparts.

Our adolescent respondents were given a battery of twenty statements purporting to describe Jewish teenagers. Some of these statements were phrased in positive terms, some in neutral terms, some were phrased negatively. Positive stereotypes of Jews were widely held in the three communities. For example, in Commutertown, 70% of the white, non-Jewish students think of Jewish teenagers as intelligent; 82% think so in Oceanville; 75% in Central City. Similarly, high proportions think of Jews as being ambitious and having a considerable amount of school spirit. There is more support for these positive descriptions than for any negative ones. It cannot be assumed that the acknowledgment of positive traits signals the absence of prejudice, however. Positively perceived traits can be interpreted invidiously; for example, their ambition being attributed to their being selfish. Moreover, along with the positive ascriptions, there is widespread acceptance of negative stereotypes in the three communities, with the degree of acceptance rising, the larger the Jewish presence in a community.

In Commutertown, among non-Jewish white adolescents, 70% think of Jewish teenagers as being too powerful and less conceited; 66% think of them as vain; 60% as selfish; 58% as sly; 52% as bossy; and 50% as unfriendly. Somewhat less acceptance of these negative stereotypes occurs in Oceanville. But a majority of the students accept all of the stereotypes. Central City, which is the community with virtually no Jewish students, shows considerably less Jewish stereotyping. There is no single stereotype which is accepted by as many as 50% of the students. Overall, 43% of the students in Commuterville accepted negative stereotypes on the average, 37% in Oceanville, and 26% in Central City.

* * *

Judged by the acceptance of negative stereotypes, racial prejudice is more virulent in all three communities than anti-Semitism...The only positive attribute accepted by a majority of white non-Jewish adolescents about blacks is that they are athletic. This stereotype gained about 90% acceptance in all three communities. Most negative attributes were accepted by a majority of students in the three communities. For example, in Commutertown 84% agreed that black youngsters are trouble-makers, 79% in Oceanville, and 79% also in Central City. That black youngsters are immoral is accepted by 75%, 68% and 71% respectively in the three towns. Overall, negative stereotypes of blacks are accepted by 56% in Commutertown on the average, 49% in Oceanville, and 64% in Central City. In the two communities in which there were Jewish teenagers they showed less racial prejudice than the non-Jewish white teenagers.

* * *

(Dr. Glock went on to describe how the feeling component of prejudice was tapped with a version of the well-known social distance scale, a measure designed to assess the extent to which members of one group feel open to interact with members of an out-group. The usual way of tapping social distance was amended by asking respondents first how they would respond to a college-bound, academically successful teenager and then to a less academically ambitious and successful teenager. Respondents were also asked to respond to a more successful than a less successful black youngster. The results paralleled the data on stereotyping in showing a considerable amount of prejudice.)

* * *

The most surprising and revealing aspect of the investigation of social distance is the extent to which it is influenced by whether the referent is more or less successful. Social distance expressed toward less successful Jews and blacks is considerably greater than toward their more successful counterparts...The class element interacts considerably with the racial and religious ones, suggesting strongly that renewed efforts to contend with the problem of prejudice in the schools must deal with class prejudice as well as racial and religious prejudice.

* * *

(Dr. Glock pointed out the difficulty in tapping the third component of prejudice, behavior, on the use of questionnaires. His studies relied primarily on the behavioral measure of friendship and to what extent friendships formed across religious and racial lines. The data here reveal a considerable tendency for in-group rather than for interreligious or interracial friendships. Relatively, there are more non-Jewish/Jewish relationships than there are black/white friendships. In fact, there were so few black/white friendships in these three school systems as not to allow for exploration of the question of what leads to such friendships in the research.

Periodic checks convinced the researchers that the results they were getting using all three measures of prejudice -- the one based on the acceptance of stereotypes, the second based on social distance, and the third based on friendship choice -- were highly concordant. They also found the results in the three communities to be highly concordant, that is to say, the factors contributing most to explaining prejudice the same in each of the three

communities. The concordance of the results suggested that they may be generalized beyond the communities studied.)

* * *

The general finding is that in all three school systems anti-Semitism and racial prejudice are especially likely to be found among less privileged youngsters, among those who come from less privileged family backgrounds than from those who are academically less privileged. Explanation as to "why this should be" involved testing four of the most widely accepted theories of prejudice.

The first holds that hostility toward minority groups results from anxiety produced by frustration. This theory suggests that among high school students those failing to compete successfully for grades, friends, admission to college and other rewards may find themselves beset by anxiety and self-blame to the point that they seek excuses for their failures.

The second theory is that prejudice is produced and maintained primarily through interaction with other prejudiced persons. Thus, persons with prejudiced attitudes hold such notions simply because they learn them from their associates, and, once acquired, prejudicial attitudes, to be sure, may function to relieve anxieties and tensions. But to concentrate only on psychological needs in their resolution, state the proponents of this view, misses the social and cultural setting in which prejudice is learned.

The third theory has to do with the enlightened values. Widespread assumption and one which governs many schools' approach to the problems of prejudice is that the absorption of enlightened values of brotherhood, equality, civil liberties and respect for the rights of others will effect a reduction in prejudice....

The final proposition we sought to test is that the academically deprived are more susceptible and the academically privileged less prone to prejudice because of differences in their level of cognitive sophistication. Underlying this theory is the idea that prejudice is an inherently complex phenomenon; highly developed powers of reasoning are required to recognize it, to judge it where it is and to reject it. Awareness of stereotyping and sensitivity to its dangers are called for. Awareness of the sometimes subtle distinction between relative and absolute differences is required as is an avoidance of the pitfall of automatically assigning to particular members of a group traits or characteristics which characterize the group as a whole only to agree. An understanding of the cultural, historical and social forces that make for group differences is also demanded as well as being knowledgeable and sophisticated enough to separate true differences from false ones.

Having the cognitive capacity to do all these things does not guarantee freedom from prejudice. Conditions can be imagined, for example, where peer pressure might be a more powerful stimulant to prejudice than reason and restraint against prejudice. Nevertheless, a cognitive sophisticated understanding or prejudice would appear a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for its prevention....

(The data offered no support, essentially, for the frustration - aggression theory of prejudice, and little for the theories that claimed that prejudice

breeds prejudice or that the cause of prejudice lies in the failure to be socialized to enlightened values. By far the most powerful result of the analysis, according to the researchers, was the strong, although indirect, confirmation offered the cognitive theory of prejudice. In all three communities, the greater the cognitive sophistication, the less the prejudice.)

Further support of the theory that prejudice is a result of cognitive failure came from the investigation of why anti-Semitism seems greater the larger the size of a Jewish presence in a community. Contact where it flowers into friendship does reduce prejudice. Not all contact generates friendships, however. One source of the aggravation (seems to be) Jewish success; another is Jewish clannishness. The facts are that Jewish youngsters are on the average a lot more successful in their academic lives than their non-Jewish counterparts.

The explanation which gains the most support from our analysis is that Jewish success is the source of anti-Semitism because of cognitive failure on the part of non-Jewish teenagers. Reflecting on what it means to be successful in school, it soon becomes evident that attributes accrue to success for youngsters which tend to be negatively evaluated by the less successful. For example, young people can be conceited without having any grounds except their own ego needs to be so, and certainly there are other sources of conceit than academic success...Generally speaking, however, being or appearing to be bossy is more often characteristic of leaders in the social group than of followers. And, of course, leadership and being successful academically also tend to go together....

In sum, there are grounds for non-successful youngsters to dislike successful ones, which grounds accrue from success itself. The process through which success breeds anti-Semitism is that when successful teenagers are Jewish, traits which derive from their being successful are falsely accounted for as a result of their being Jewish. The insidiousness of prejudice as well as the importance of well-developed reasoning powers to overcome it are especially revealed. In a school setting where the more successful students tend to be Presbyterian or Episcopalian (as the more academically successful in Central City tend to be), it would never occur to anyone to attribute tendencies toward conceit, vanity or slyness on such students' parts to their religion. There simply isn't that kind of anti-Episcopalianism or anti-Presbyterianism in the culture to cause an observer to falsely identify these traits as having their roots in religion.

When a successful Jewish youngster exhibits these traits, however, even the unprejudiced observer must contend with a ready explanation afforded by the prevailing cultural anti-Semitism. It requires extraordinary sophistication not to fall victim to its appeal. A profound understanding of the nature of prejudice is required. One must be discerning enough to recognize the true source of the disliked traits. Some knowledge of the historical and social forces making for group differences is called for, as well. How Jewish clanishness is responded to by non-Jews is dependent on how they understand the clannishness to have come about. If the explanation is racist, "Jews stick together too much because of a flaw in Jewish character," the result is hostility. If, however, a non-Jewish youngster is knowledgeable about the persecution of Jews throughout history and sophisticated enough to recognize the natural tendency for the victims of persecution to band together as one of the few options open to them to survive, then the response to Jewish

teenagers' being clannish is one of understanding and sympathy rather than of hostility and prejudice.

* * *

The evidence on the effects of racial integration of schools on the academic performance of black and white youngsters is still not all in and the conclusions to be drawn from the available evidence are not altogether clear....

While integration may have had some positive impact on improving performance, it would appear not to have much impact on improving race relations. It is evident in our data that racial prejudice remains a persistent problem. The controversy about busing is also indicative that racial tensions remain virtually unabated. Just why the human relations aspect of racial integration has not been dealt with effectively is not entirely clear. In part, undoubtedly, the fault lies in institutional timidity and apathy. A third reason why so little has been done is that the problem of prejudice is not that visible. The prevailing sentiment among those (teachers) who did answer the questionnaire was that religious and racial prejudice was virtually non-existent in those schools. A fourth and perhaps the crucial reason for the schools' relative neglect of prejudice is simply that it has not been clear what could or should be done if the obstacles to doing something weren't there....

The leverage necessary to turn the situation around and to involve schools actively and creatively in the struggle against prejudice is not likely to be provided by a single research project, especially one whose results fly in the face of some prevailing suppositions about prejudice. Still, in the absence of other stimuli, it becomes important to nourish all possible sources of leverage. The findings suggest that the best way for the schools to combat prejudice is simply for them to do their fundamental job of education more effectively. This at least seems to be the message of the consistent finding that the most effective armor against prejudice is cognitive sophistication. Presumably, if the general level of cognitive sophistication were raised without necessarily any specific instruction about prejudice, the incidence of prejudice would be reduced....There is some reason to believe, given our findings, that it may be possible through appropriate didactic instruction to teach youngsters to be cognitively sophisticated about prejudice, even in the absence of their becoming cognitively sophisticated generally.

The research does not tell us what form this instruction should take. For example, would it be better offered in a single course devoted exclusively to the subject of prejudice or provided at appropriate places throughout the school curricula? Nor do the results indicate at precisely what age levels instruction should be provided. It is reasonably clear from the study's findings, however, what the content of such instruction should be.... To begin with, it is evident that instruction should not begin and end with simply pronouncing prejudice to be bad. Instruction must obviously contend with the many false stereotypes about group differences that nourish prejudice. That prejudice prevails is clearly due in part to false beliefs never being challenged and their falsity and irrationality revealed. This is not an easy thing to do, however. The challenge cannot be made effectively when there is absolutely no objective evidence for judging the truth of a stereotype. Also, when there is evidence demonstrating a stereotype to be erroneous, for the prejudiced person there is often subjective evidence to refute the objective. What a teacher has to say is unlikely to be disconfirming of what a youngster has experienced personally....

The answer to the instructional dilemma is not, as is frequently thought and practiced, to deny or to overlook the existence of group differences, especially differences that appear to reflect negatively on one group in comparison with another. Such instruction is undoubtedly well motivated in practice because it is thought that the acknowledgment of group differences may breed prejudice, but its more likely consequence is to compromise the integrity of the teacher, and, in the process, either mute his or her potential to be effective or produce a boomerang effect....

The pedagogical solution pointed by the research is for the existence of group differences to be forthrightly acknowledged and discussed, whether they appear to reflect on a group positively, negatively or neutrally. If anything, negative attributions are especially to be acknowledged to ensure that there are no grounds for a youngster to feel deceived. It will be discovered, if a systematic effort is made to find out, that there is not that much known about group differences that is grounded in solid evidence....

Our findings suggest that three kinds of educational input are needed to teach youngsters not to fall victims to simplistic thinking. First, instruction in the logic of inference is called for so that youngsters can come to recognize when group differences are being falsely accounted for, as was the case with those teenagers in Commutertown and Oceanville who falsely attributed the conceit of Jewish peers to their Jewishness rather than to their success. Learning the logic of inference requires instruction in the notion of causality. That is to say, the necessity to look beyond surface characteristics, beyond easy explanation to discover more subtle reasons for human behavior. It also requires instruction in the rules of evidence. Just as a teenager learns to inspect a chemical solution to judge its properties, he needs to be able to examine human situations and decide what conclusions he reasonably can and cannot infer....

Second, specific instruction is needed about how group differences come about. This means going into the historical background of group differences to reveal their social and cultural sources. Why black teenagers are less successful in school and why Jewish teenagers and their parents are prone to clannishness, for example, have to be explained so that their historical roots are understood and the social forces making for their persistence in contemporary society comprehended. Especially necessary, it seems, is instruction showing that group differences are not exclusively the result simply of genetic traits or attributed simply to the acts of individuals without respect to social, cultural and historical pressures.

Third, instruction is required to make clear the size of group differences so as to guard against the common tendency for relative differences, which virtually all group differences are, to be generalized. For example, it needs to be made clear that all Jewish teenagers are not successful in school, nor are all non-Jewish teenagers unsuccessful....

Our data suggest that instruction pursued along these lines, presuming it could be carried successfully, would make prejudice so indefensible intellectually as to render it inoperative even for youngsters surrounded by prejudiced peers. Making prejudice inoperative would not necessarily result in substituting friendliness and approval for intolerance. Nor that traits previously reacted to negatively will now be thought of positively. Such comprehension does forestall, however, an intolerant response and allow for group differences to be dealt with on their own terms.

* * 18

A pedagogical effort as proposed constitutes a tall order and, admittedly, the research does not demonstrate that if it were tried it could work. It is conceivable, first of all, that the number of youngsters who could absorb and learn from its instruction would be no more than the number who now learn the irrationality of prejudice more indirectly because, through whatever means, they learn how to think. It is also conceivable that our research, by virtue of inadequacies of measurement, has grossly underestimated the emotive element in prejudice. Even if this is so it would not necessarily mean that dissonance between one's cognitive understanding of prejudice and one's emotional feelings about an out-group would necessarily be resolved emotionally. Nevertheless, it is evident that if the psychological factors are paramount, instruction devoted to developing only cognitive understanding of prejudice has much less chance to be effective than if such factors are not significant, as the present research suggests.

These cautions notwithstanding, the idea that it may take no more than instruction, though of a special kind, to effect a substantial reduction in the incidence of prejudice seems sufficiently compelling to justify some effort to test it out.

ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

An Administrator's Viewpoint

Highlights of the Paper Presented
by
Gordon L. McAndrew
Superintendent of Schools
Gary, Indiana

The difficulty mentioned by the authors enlisting the cooperation of schools in their research is not surprising. Public institutions, like public figures, tend to play it down the middle on issues they deem controversial or sensitive. Among those, of course, are questions of religion and/or race. Most local school boards, therefore, would be gun-shy about becoming involved with the questions and issues raised by the Glock study.

Willingness to participate is a minor problem, however, compared to the proposal for an active program designed to overcome prejudice. The authors point out correctly that school desegregation efforts over the past twenty years have not been accompanied by parallel programs to prepare students for integrated education. In this area, as in most, educators have generally been both cautious and conservative. Despite rhetoric which would have us believe otherwise, most public schools are not very democratic places. For example, much has been said about the desirability of the need for community involvement in schools. Whether or not this is so, most school people would just as soon have no part of it. They argue, in moments of candor, that such involvement can be, and often is, disruptive of the status quo. They are right.

Historically, the main vehicle of parental involvement has been the PTA. It is also true that in most cases this organization has been the handmaiden of the educational establishment. There have developed over the past several years, however, more independent and powerful parent groups. Their emergence has focused attention on the school's relation to the community it serves. Just what this relationship ought to be is one of the most difficult issues in public education. Clearly it is pertinent to the questions raised by and approaches suggested in Adolescent Prejudice. How do we define "community" and who is to be included? To what degree should the school educate the young in conformity with what school patrons and taxpayers want? Does it have any choice or leeway? How much? These questions sometimes bring about interesting divisions along liberal-conservative lines. Witness, for example, the various and sometimes surprising reactions of doctrinaires with respect to the community control issue in Ocean Hill-Brownsville a few years back, or the more recent question of textbook selection in the schools of West Virginia. I have emphasized this area of school and community because it will, in all probability, surface in any effort to implement the recommendations made in the concluding chapter of the study....

* * *

To say that "...the failure of schools to do anything very much about prejudice is also apparently a result of prejudice not being perceived to be a serious problem" (p.172) is somewhat misleading. Sensitive issues, such as prejudice, are generally handled by dealing with them, if at all, in general terms. Attention to such problems may be turned over to a human relations club, assigned to Brotherhood Week, or bundled into a social studies "unit" dealing with American democratic values. They are seldom confronted directly and openly for the reasons already given. The failure of schools to deal effectively with problems of prejudice ("Just why the schools have dealt with the problem of prejudice mostly through a policy approximating benign neglect is not entirely clear.") (p.172), relates back to the fact that educational institutions reflect the values of the larger society, as the authors themselves suggest. And that larger society, as Myrdal pointed out years back, is ambivalent in its values, creating thereby an American dilemma between what is professed and what is practiced. The reason for "timidity rather than boldness" (p. 172) is hardly surprising if, as the authors suggest, prejudice is not perceived by school people as a serious problem. Whether it's this or, as I believe, our unwillingness to confront a problem which is unpleasant, deep-seated and visceral, the fact is prejudice manifests itself in our schools in ways easier described than addressed....

* * *

As mentioned earlier, the causes of both racial and religious bias are essentially the same. Other aspects of the comparative analysis, however, raise the distinct possibility that the two forms of prejudice manifest themselves differently in our schools and lead to different outcomes.

"Immorality, troublemaking, gaudiness and vanity are the charges most frequently leveled against black teenagers." (p. 134) "Troublemaking" was the trait most commonly ascribed to blacks in the three communities (79% to 84%) contrasted to "greedy" as the highest perception of Jews by whites (51% to 69%). Also, "This strong tendency to accept negative attributions (of blacks) is combined with an almost negative inclination to reject positive ascriptions. A majority in all three communities acknowledged black athletic prowess (89% to 90%), but otherwise plus ascriptions are rejected about as frequently as negative ones are accepted." (p. 135). Among white perceptions of Jews, however, "intelligence" (74% to 77%) and "good citizens" (69% to 76%) are characteristics ascribed with very high frequency, whereas Jews seen as "troublemakers" (11% to 12%) is almost at the bottom of the list.

What emerges clearly is that stereotyping of Jews tends to be either positive or neutral, while that of blacks is negative. This supports the reality of white, including Jewish, exodus from schools as blacks move in. Further, the high percentage of negative stereotyping of blacks in three communities where presence is relatively low (13% to 15%), lends empirical support to the tenacity and extent of racism. If, as in the case of Jews, prejudice is more pronounced given greater black presence, imagine its extent in urban schools where blacks are in the majority. The number is

growing, and the trend shows no sign of reversal....

* * *

There is less economic and academic deprivation among Jews than whites, hence one would expect less racial prejudice among Jewish adolescents. The study confirms this attitude. It appears not to be true, however, that because of this Jews remain in a school longer as the black percentages of a student body increase. This apparent contradiction between attitude and behavior could be accounted for by educational ambition among Jews which causes them to be particularly sensitive to what they perceive as a deterioration of academic climate....

* * *

The data do not explain the fact that Jews at any given level are less prejudiced than whites. One can only speculate that this is due to "victims of prejudice less likely to manifest it themselves." (p. 160) Here again, however, attitude (i.e., lack of prejudice) and behavior (i.e., removing oneself from school situations perceived as adverse) may be contradictory. Those who in fact constitute the main exodus from "changing communities" are the more economically advantaged and therefore presumably the most cognitively sophisticated and least prejudiced. In my own experience, this exodus has been of both whites and Jews, though their own separation from each other tends to continue in that their suburban destinations are different....

* * *

Racism explains part of this white flight. Concomitant with this or part of it are other possibilities:

1. As blacks have gained more access to political and governmental institutions accompanied by some diminution of housing discrimination, particularly within cities, they have become more the "Visible Man" with predictable and sometimes panic reactions exemplified by so-called white flight.

2. Greater mobility in housing coupled with desegregation programs in some communities have increased minority enrollment in schools serving formerly white neighborhoods. The change has been both racial and economic with respect to schools in the most affluent area of Gary.

3. The presence of more minorities, particularly in formerly white communities, has paralleled growing concern about crime and parents' concern about their own safety and the welfare of their school children. Some of this relates to greater minority mobility mentioned above; for it is a common perception among whites, true or not, that as minorities move into a neighborhood, crime and disorder will increase.... Whatever the nature and validity of the reasons, there has developed, in the thinking of the non-

black majority, the conviction that too much (how much that is, of course, varies) minority movement into a neighborhood creates an undesirable situation. A partial explanation of this response may be the conclusion in Chapter 4 that characteristics of minority groups themselves to some extent nourish prejudice. "For reasons associated probably with the liberal bias of investigators, the possibility that the victims may be a source of prejudice has rarely been examined. Generally, it has been taken for granted that negative stereotypes constitute misperceptions or misrepresentations of reality. The possible truth content of stereotypes has either been overlooked or denied; the latter more often because of the absence of supporting evidence than of the presence of counter-evidence." (p. 130) To the degree that this is so, at least part of the extremely high incidence of negative racial stereotypes may be a response to reality; "...for example, in agreeing that blacks are frequently in trouble with school authorities." (p. 163) This adverse reaction overcomes the nonprejudice nurtured by cognitive sophistication and contributes to white middle class abandonment of urban centers, or, at the least, of the cities' public schools...."

* * *

This situation is true, not only in the North, but in many southern communities which experienced marked school desegregation in the 1960's. However, though more progress has taken place in that area of the country than anywhere else, the pattern of that progress is uneven. "In most of the South's large urban areas, where blacks frequently account for more than a third of the population, there has been only limited classroom desegregation. Integration within the schools of the big cities of Dixie, as within the schools of the big cities of the North and West, has been thwarted by rapid white flight to the suburbs. Most children attending the South's newly established private academies come from middle-class white families...Private schooling has become a routine way of education for much of the southern middle class, a significant sociological development..." (New York Times, November 2, 1975)

* * *

Adolescent Prejudice notes that "...we suspect there is some truth in these (white) youngsters' perceptions but, because of prejudice, they are wrong in how they interpret what they see. Successful Jewish youngsters probably do exhibit these negative traits to a degree," (i.e., conceited, powerful, sly, vain, bossy) not because they are Jewish, but because they are successful." (p. 111) If this be so, it would seem to follow that there is some truth in how blacks are perceived, and that some of those traits ascribed to them by the majority (e.g., hostility, laziness, misbehavior, surliness) are related to lack of success in school. And also

as behavior threatening to the well-being of non-blacks.

If Harrington is right in echoing DeMott's quotation at the beginning of this paper, it will be difficult to divorce status and success. And beyond that to impact through our schools on the values and prejudices of a given community. Some indication this is so may be seen in the two most volatile issues in public education today -- busing for desegregation and the related question of metropolitan school districting. That these efforts to create some semblance of an integrated school society seem headed for failure suggests that the study's objectives are as desperately needed as they will be difficult to realize.

* * *

Another difference aggravating the situation is socioeconomic. Given the class prejudice documented in the study, and the fact that proportionately more blacks than Jews are poor, negative attitudes towards blacks are compounded and the building of positive relationships becomes just that much more difficult. This is a significant factor in light of the study's finding that, based on reported friendships, "By and large... the greater the contact, the less the anti-Semitism." (p. 126) Presumably the same type of result would come from black-white friendships. My guess, however, is that such associations are fewer and farther between than those between Jew and non-Jew, and that racism, compounded by considerations of class, is harder to overcome than religious bias....

* * *

Recognizing the difficulties, a systematic curriculum aimed at reducing prejudice through a program of cognitive sophistication merits support. How it should be integrated into the existing instructional framework needs study, though I (1) favor a K-12 approach of increasing sophistication appropriate to the maturity of students; (2) oppose the idea of "...a single course devoted exclusively to the subject of prejudice..." (p. 175); (3) believe it absolutely necessary to involve staff, students and parents in planning and implementation from the outset; (4) recommend requesting support of the two national teacher organizations (NEA and AFT), both of which have relatively strong public positions on this matter; (5) opt, if possible, for communities with some degree of stability, tranquility and a degree of socioeconomic, racial and religious mix. All of this, bearing in mind that many school boards, superintendents and communities will be reluctant to participate, but surely there are still some willing souls. To the extent the program is communicated as non-coercive, it will be, of course, better received. This will be particularly helpful with respect to teacher participation....

* * *

Two major difficulties must be considered. One of these requires taking into account negative reactions as a result of dealing with stereotypes that are not false and to deal with real differences, whatever they may be, which reflect or appear to reflect negatively on one group in comparison to another. This will be particularly difficult to overcome when

comparisons viewed as invidious involve a group represented in the school. The interpretation undoubtedly will be that the program is not one of prejudice reduction but rather one of prejudice promotion.

The other problem is how to cope with class prejudice, which the study points out is as virulent as religious or racial prejudice, and in my view more difficult to deal with. Given the middle-class orientation of public education, I am not optimistic about one of the study's conclusions, wishfully expressed, that "In sum, if the schools could break down the correlation between socioeconomic status and academic success, they would also be reducing the correlation of socioeconomic status and prejudice." (p. 180) However, as Michael Harrington commentated in a recent analysis, "Here again one sees that it is not education that transforms social class as much as it is class structure that limits, dictates, and transforms the significance of education."

ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

A Commentary

Highlights of the Paper Presented
by
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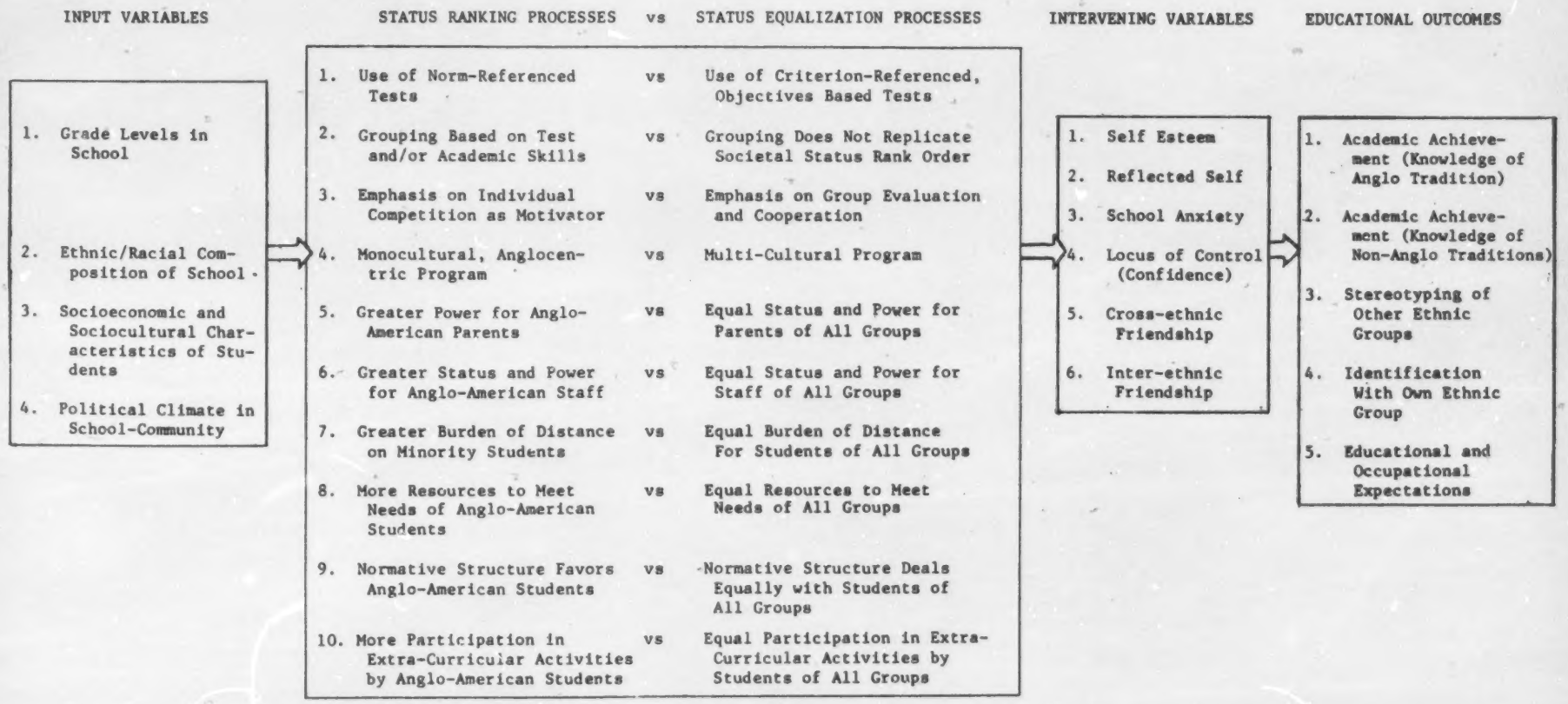
The psychologistic approach to the study of interethnic relations depends heavily upon such intra-psychic concepts as stereotyping and prejudice. The operationalization of such concepts presents so many methodological and conceptual difficulties that alternative, more sociologistic models are needed if we are to move toward further understanding of intergroup relations. Consequently, we are proposing a conceptual model for the study of schools which focuses on ten educational processes in multi-ethnic schools which we hypothesize are related to producing positive inter-group relations and educational outcomes. Table 2 presents the ten status-ranking processes which, on the basis of our own and other's research, we hypothesize account for a significant amount of the inequality in educational outcomes for children of different racial/ethnic origin. We theorize that these crucial processes are endemic in public education and vary relatively little from school to school. Consequently, there will be little variance between schools in the operation of these processes.

Our over-all hypothesis is that these ten status-ranking processes are the institutional mechanisms by which the rank order of status in the larger society is replicated within each public school. They are responsible, in part, for the inequalities in educational outcomes which perpetuate the inferior social status of persons of different racial/ethnic heritage from generation to generation. We hypothesize that these processes are additive and those schools having the most negative mental health and educational outcomes will have more of these processes operating at a higher level of intensity than schools having more positive mental health and educational outcomes. On the other hand, we hypothesize that the schools with positive outcomes will be characterized by status equalization model which borrows heavily from the work of Allport (1954), Cohen and Roper (1972), Cohen (1972, 1973), Katz and Cohen (1962), Lohman (1972), and Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1972)....

Table 2

Schema Depicting Status Ranking and Status Equalization Processes Hypothesized to be Correlated with Quality and Equity in Educational Outcomes in Desegregated Schools


INPUT VARIABLES
1. Grade Levels in School
2. Ethnic/Racial Composition of School
3. Socioeconomic and Sociocultural Characteristics of Students
4. Political Climate in School-Community
STATUS RANKING PROCESSES vs STATUS EQUALIZATION PROCESSES
1. Use of Norm-Referenced Tests vs Use of Criterion-Referenced, Objectives Based Tests
2. Grouping Based on Test and/or Academic Skills vs Grouping Does Not Replicate Societal Status Rank Order
3. Emphasis on Individual Competition as Motivator vs Emphasis on Group Evaluation and Cooperation
4. Monocultural, Anglocentric Program vs Multi-Cultural Program
5. Greater Power for Anglo-American Parents vs Equal Status and Power for Parents of All Groups
6. Greater Status and Power for Anglo-American Staff vs Equal Status and Power for Staff of All Groups
7. Greater Burden of Distance on Minority Students vs Equal Burden of Distance For Students of All Groups
8. More Resources to Meet Needs of Anglo-American Students vs Equal Resources to Meet Needs of All Groups
9. Normative Structure Favors Anglo-American Students vs Normative Structure Deals Equally with Students of All Groups
10. More Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities by Anglo-American Students vs Equal Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities by Students of All Groups
INTERVENING VARIABLES
1. Self Esteem
2. Reflected Self
3. School Anxiety
4. Locus of Control (Confidence)
5. Cross-ethnic Friendship
6. Inter-ethnic Friendship
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES
1. Academic Achievement (Knowledge of Anglo Tradition)
2. Academic Achievement (Knowledge of Non-Anglo Traditions)
3. Stereotyping of Other Ethnic Groups
4. Identification With Own Ethnic Group
5. Educational and Occupational Expectations

Theoretical Framework for the Status Equalization Model

The theoretical framework for Table 2 attempts to integrate into a single model some of the concepts and hypotheses discussed in the previous section. On the basis of this material we developed the diagram of the Input-Process-Output Model which is presented in Table 2.

The input variables are those variables which we hypothesize are related to educational outcomes but are not under the direct control of the school nor are they directly influenced by the educational processes occurring in the individual school. They constitute the "givens" with which an individual school must work. Because they are related to educational and mental health outcomes they must be controlled or held constant when analyzing the effects or educational outcomes of the educational processes in a school.

The ten status-ranking and status equalization processes were derived from previous research of the author and from the literature. They are processes which we hypothesize operate in most American public schools to perpetuate the lower status of minority group students and they are processes which can be influenced by educational policy. Thus, Table 2 describes the status assignment processes as they have operated to preserve and replicate from generation to generation the rank order of discrimination which exists in the larger society. We hypothesize that those schools which have abandoned these processes and moved toward the status equalization end of each bi-polar dimension will have more positive mental health and educational outcomes.

(1) Use of Norm-Referenced Tests vs Use of Criterion-Referenced Tests to Measure Attainment of Specific Objectives. When public schools use norm-referenced tests of "intelligence," "aptitude," or "achievement" to assess and label public school students, a disproportionately large number of children of non-Anglo heritage are labeled as subnormal and placed in classes for the mentally retarded (Mercer 1973a). Because norm-referenced tests are constructed to test the child's knowledge of Anglo-American society and do not take the cultural background of the child into account, the labeling process recreates the rank order of status in the larger society by labeling majority children as more competent than minority children. Teachers believe these labels and perceive minority children as less competent. Thus, norm-referenced, standardized tests legitimate the diffuse status characteristics associated with minority groups. They serve the latent functions of preserving the subordinate positions of non-Anglo persons, discrediting the value of non-Anglo cultures, and providing the schools with a mechanism for "cooling out" parents who criticize the schools by convincing them that it is the family and child, not the school, who are responsible for low educational achievement....

(2) Classroom Grouping Based on Test Performance and/or Academic Skills produces a direct replication in the

school of the differential statuses of ethnic/racial groups in the larger society. Tracking and "homogeneous grouping," when used in the desegregated school, operate to re-segregate students along racial/ethnic lines with minority children being assigned to the "slow" tracks and majority students being assigned to the "accelerated" programs. We have found that the practice of grouping children according to their academic performance is ubiquitous in the traditional schools we have studied....

(3) Emphasis on Individual Competition as a Motivator vs Emphasis on Group Evaluation and Cooperation is related to grouping practices. The traditional school relies heavily upon individual evaluation, individual rewards, and competitive relations among students in the classroom to motivate students to perform. Academic grades, honorific statuses and awards, and teacher commendation and approval are ordinarily awarded to individual children who tend to compete for these honors rather than to assist each other in the learning process....

(4) Monocultural, Anglocentric Programs are traditional in American public schools and derive from a long history in which the public schools were viewed as a primary mechanism for socializing immigrant and lower-class children to conform to the expectations of a society dominated by Anglo-American institutions and values....

The omission of black history and the achievements of other American minorities from the texts used in the schools is now generally recognized as a violation of cultural democracy in a pluralistic society and there is some movement, especially in desegregated schools, to introduce multi-cultural materials into the regular school program. However, the effects of such programs have not been clearly documented....

(5) Greater Power for Anglo-American Parents vs. Equal Status and Power for Parents of All Groups is a dimension of the school learning environment which is seldom analyzed systematically. However, within a status equalization model, it is clear that the relationships between parents and the school is critical in developing the role models for equal status interaction for the students in the school. As indicated earlier, Lohman (1972) found that black role models were effective in reducing interracial, interaction disability for black students....

(6) Greater Status and Power for Anglo-American Staff vs Equal Status and Power for Staff of All Ethnic Groups The typical desegregated school in an earlier study by the author had fewer minority teachers than majority teachers....

Thus, the child in the desegregated school is presented with adult role models in the school which clearly indicate that Anglo-Americans have better jobs and more authority. Incidentally, children also learn that males are higher status than females....

(7) Greater Burden of Distance on Minority Children vs Equal Burden of Distance for Students of All Groups refers to a relatively common practice in school desegregation -- busing minority children to predominantly Anglo schools while permitting Anglo children to remain in their own neighborhood schools. This practice results from one-way busing programs. The result is that a minority child is placed in the role of the "outsider" who comes into the neighborhood during school hours but does not participate in after-school or neighborhood activities. It is not uncommon for teachers and students to refer to the "bused students" as a special category of children. Teachers speak of "our" children, meaning the children from the neighborhood, and the "bused" children....

(8) More Resources to Meet the Needs of Anglo-American Students vs Equal Resources to Meet the Needs of All Groups Although most public schools have music teachers, art teachers, speech therapists, and a wide variety of "special" resources to provide services for Anglo-American students, it is only recently that schools have begun to develop the kinds of programs and resources required to meet the specific needs of minority children....

(9) Normative Structure Favors Anglo-American Students vs Normative Structure Which Deals Equally with Students of All Groups is the dimension which addresses directly the issue of whether a school has both formal and informal norms which support equal status contacts among students, parents, and teachers of all ethnic/racial groups....

We hypothesize that school normative structure which favors Anglo-American students and does not support interracial equality lowers minority self-esteem, minority-reflected self, and minority confidence; raises minority anxiety levels; decreases cross-ethnic friendships. An unequal normative structure

results in lower minority academic achievement, negative stereotyping of other ethnic groups by both minority and majority students....

(10) Equal Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities by Students of All Ethnic/Racial Groups is the final dimension of status equalization in the model. A number of studies have found a correlation between participation in extra-curricular activities and dropouts. Dillon (1949) in a study of 798 dropouts found that 73 percent had never participated, only 2 percent had been involved in more than two activities.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in a survey of five southwestern states (1971), found that Mexican-American students do not reach their proportionate rate of participation in extra-curricular activities. Even when they comprise the majority enrollment, they lag behind Anglo students....

* * *

Public schools presently reproduce in microcosm the unequal status relationships among students, staff, and parents of differing ethnic/racial groups in the macrocosm of the larger society. We theorize that unequal status relationships replicated in the school socialize children of differing racial/ethnic origins for unequal adult statuses and are correlated with observed unequal educational and mental health outcomes for students of differing racial/ethnic groups. We have identified ten institutional processes which we hypothesize are central to producing unequal status. These ten processes are conceptualized in a series of "ideal" types as bi-polar dimensions along which individual schools can be measured and placed.

We hypothesize that these ten institutional processes are additive. We hypothesize that those schools in which a greater number of these processes are operating at a higher level of intensity to equalize status and participation for all ethnic/racial groups will produce significantly more positive educational and mental health outcomes for students of all ethnic/racial groups.

We believe that the study of institutional processes which operate in public education to produce unequal status may provide some of the insights necessary to improving intergroup relations and avoid many of the methodological and conceptional problems encountered in the study of such psychological constructs as "stereotyping" and "prejudice."

ADOLESCENT PREJUDICE

Some Educational Implications

Highlights of the Paper Presented
by
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It has long been clear that the social characteristics of a child's family affect his chances for academic success, with socioeconomic status considered the best predictor of school performance. The U.S. Office of Education survey, Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966), set off a debate about the extent to which social and economic conditions outside the school affected patterns of academic performance, with Coleman arguing: "For equality of educational opportunity through the schools must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's immediate social environment, and that strong independent effect [be] present in American schools." (p. 325) A subsequent reanalysis of the Coleman data resulted in Mayeske et al. (1970) concluding that the influence of school factors on achievement cannot be separated from that of the student's social background and vice versa: "In conclusion, it may be stated that the schools are indeed important. It is equally clear, however, that their influence is bound up with that of the student's social background..."

* * *

There are many socializing and educating agencies which affect individual growth -- both cognitive and affective -- some of which, such as the school, are formally organized and others, such as the peer group, which function informally. Attitudes and prejudices are acquired at a very early age from experiences in these various settings. To what extent schools can "find a way to make up for the disparity in the educational input provided by the home environment and carried over into school environments" is a question which should be raised, but educational planners must acknowledge the influence of other socializing and educating agencies on the school when designing programs....

* * *

The extent to and the ways in which the school can complement and supplement these extra-school learnings and socializing effects has hardly been explored. Schools behave as if they did not exist or were really quite unimportant....

* * *

Further, the school itself is a social system -- an intricate network of social interactions involving individuals and groups. These relationships call for different roles and interactions involving individuals and groups. These relationships call for different roles and interactions which affect what is learned and how it is learned. The classrooms are but one part of the school's social system, affected by the hierarchies and the exercise of power; by learning environments, structured and unstructured; and by the formal and informal transactions -- all of which exercise considerable influence on learning and socialization....

* * *

The Glock et al. data add support to the influence of peer groups and friendship patterns on the attitudes and prejudices of youth -- "the effect of associating with prejudiced others is to exacerbate one's own prejudices." (p. 99) These associations take place both within and outside the school and are mutually reinforcing. Most youth live in residentially segregated neighborhoods, segregated by race as well as socioeconomic, ethnic, and often religious status. In many settings, the school is the only common meeting place where individuals experience the presence of others who differ from themselves. But the formal structure and organization of the school may limit the interactions among various groups. The curricular programs (college preparatory, general, vocational, etc.), the tracking system, the athletic and extra-curricular programs (e.g. football may be a "black sport" while soccer may be a "white sport") all contribute to the kinds of groupings and sortings which limit contacts and opportunities to experience the presence of others....

* * *

Schools' attempts to combat prejudice have generally fallen under the rubric of "intergroup education." In a review of instructional methods in intercultural and intergroup education, Van Til (1959) identified five stages through which educators have gone since the 1920's. These include: (a) a missionary phase when educators were being "converted" to the need for intercultural education; (b) a "simple answers" stage characterized by an oversimplification of the complexity of the task and the expectation that such programs as the Springfield Plan and ethnic festivals would eliminate prejudice; (c) a stage of promising practices begun during World War II in which the work of such national projects as the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, the College Study in Intergroup Relations, and the Bureau for Intercultural Education and that of such organizations as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Committee resulted in the preparation of teaching and learning materials; (d) a research stage on attitudes and prejudice, including the testing of hypotheses and approaches which emerged from the promising practices phase, and, (e) a stage of reappraisal which commenced with the 1954 Supreme Court decision when concern for immediate desegregation problems took priority over instructional methods in intergroup and intercultural education despite what should have been a clear link....

* * *

In another survey of programs and practices in intergroup education, Taba (1961) observed that the current programs, each of which was linked to a particular perception of what causes intergroup difficulties, "have not kept pace with either the new problems or the new knowledge about group relations...."

* * *

In general, instructional methodology has been aimed at promoting the enlightened values -- civic, moral, and interpersonal -- which presumably mitigate prejudice....

* * *

[Glock, et al.] argue -- with some persuasiveness -- that "the idea that it may take no more than instruction, although of a special kind, to effect a substantial reduction in the incidence of prejudice seems sufficiently compelling to justify some effort to test it out." (p. 177) Such a test, however, if it is to have any conclusive value would have to represent a major research and development effort on the part of a federal or regional body rather than more limited, isolated efforts on the part of some individual school districts. With the experience of the so-called "era of curriculum innovation of the 1960's "available, the nature and dimensions of such an effort are somewhat clearer. Glock et al. see a serious test involving "an investment in the development of an educational package including the preparation of written, audio-visual, and other materials informed by the pedagogical strategy suggested by the research"; experimentation with "alternative educational methods...to discover at what age levels instruction might be begun most effectively"; widespread field testing, and continual revision of the materials and strategies... (p. 178)

* * *

The curriculum has been defined as a changing assemblage of opportunities for educative experience. The elements of curriculum which must be ordered and reordered into opportunities for experience are time, space, material and human resources. Thus, the process of curriculum development involves many kinds of decisions: what is to be taught, to whom, when, how, under what conditions, by whom, and how are the results to be evaluated. There are many such curricular design decisions with respect to the "formal" curriculum. It is the formal curriculum on which research and development efforts focus -- the so-called "educational package." There is also a hidden curriculum -- the way of life in the school which tells the student how he should behave, the curriculum which stems from the particular culture and subculture of that school setting....

* * *

Sensitivity to the nature and impact of the hidden curriculum is seldom a component of an educational package except as part of general staff development. In the area of controlling and alleviating prejudice, the hidden or subliminal curriculum cannot be left to emerge as it will without reflection and planning....

* * *

There is a good deal of discussion and debate among educators concerning cultural pluralism and the responsibility for the school to promote such pluralism. The National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism (1973) has defined cultural pluralism as

> "a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries of framework of one nation of people with diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism, there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself." (p. 14)

This definition suggests curricular strands that deal with (a) ethnic and cultural awareness of one's own identity, (b) understanding of other cultures, and (c) awareness of the nature of racism and sexism as these affect individual and group behavior. It is a definition which has implications for both cognitive and affective development of the individual. While schools must certainly do a far more effective job in the basic skills area if they are to improve academic achievement, an education for a culturally pluralistic society must have a broader focus which deals with effective and cognitive development, with personal and interpersonal skills, and with an understanding by the individual of who he is and how he relates to others.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (1973), in a policy statement, has asserted that

> "to endorse cultural pluralism is to endorse the principle that there is no one model American. To endorse cultural pluralism is to understand and appreciate the differences that exist among the nation's citizens. It is to see these differences as a positive force in the continuing development of a society which professes a wholesome respect for the intrinsic worth of every individual. Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accommodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and of wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts." (p. 14)

* * *

In recent years, schools have developed courses dealing with a particular ethnic or racial group's experiences. The goal of such courses has often been to provide insight into self and to enhance group identity. As Banks

(1975) points out, proponents of such courses argue that they are important in developing individual commitment to his or her ethnic group since "the energies and skills of each member of an ethnic group are needed to help in that group's liberation struggle." (p. 170) Such a curriculum, some of its supporters argue, "should stress events from the point of view of specific ethnic groups and promote ethnic attachments and loyalties" which will "help students to gain the skills and commitments which will enable their ethnic group to gain power and to exercise it within the larger civic culture." (p. 171) To the extent that such courses are essentially ethnocentric they may have limited value in nurturing cognitive sophistication. However, understanding how stereotypes about one's own group have developed may increase one's insights into the broader "common culture." Knowledge about the life experience and history of one's own group can increase general awareness unless it is used as a basis for deepening ethnocentrism....

Whether there should be separate courses or such content should be integrated into existing courses is, as referred to earlier, something which should be tested with the development and implementation of alternative strategies. Gay (1975) observes that at least five design strategies are presently being implemented to make school curricula more ethnically diversified and culturally pluralistic. These include:

a. Modifying basic skills approach -- based on the premise that ethnic and cultural diversity should permeate all aspects of education.

b. Conceptual approach -- based on the premise that "there is a complex, multi-dimensional body of knowledge about ethnic and racial groups which students need to comprehend if they are to develop positive attitudes and accepting behaviors toward cultural pluralism."

c. Thematic approach -- based on identification of "recurrent themes which characterize the human condition, the social realities, and cultural experiences of ethnic groups in American society...."

d. Cultural components approach -- based on those "characteristics of different ethnic groups that combine to form unique cultural traditions... extricating from among the generic cultural components of Americans those that are unique to specific ethnic groups...."

e. Branching designs -- based on the notion that "students have a better chance of comprehending the complexities of ethnic groups' styles, their cultural heritages, and their existential conditions in society if contact with ethnic content extends beyond a single course, or a single period of the school day...."

These design strategies for processing information and attitudes about ethnic and racial groups could apply as well to instruction in the logic of inference. In all probability, alternative strategies should be tested at different age levels with different grouping patterns....

* * *

The school organization patterns which contribute to the academic sorting process and to student success and failure need reexamination.

* * *

The kinds of segregation and isolation which academic programs foster contribute to the negative attitudes and stereotypes. If Jewish students are perceived as "conceited" or "clannish" by non-Jews and blacks, the organizational structure may well contribute to nurturing such perceptions by failing to provide opportunities for examination of the stereotypes or understanding their genesis. Flexible grouping arrangements could affect the opportunities for real and meaningful contacts among youth from different groups. Similarly, the extracurricular activities which are usually more self-selective than the formal school program, often create segregation among groups despite their voluntarism. Groups tend to carve out the turf with the result that extracurricular programs are often as segregated and create barriers to real contacts....

* * *

Instruction in the logic of inference can take place directly or indirectly through other content -- that is, logic may be taught as a course or a unit, or in connection with topics in social studies or literature where logic of inference can be applied. Either way, didactic methods other than lectures are probably more appropriate. Teaching strategies which involve students actively are more effective than those which are passive-oriented. Small group discussion, role playing, simulations and games, for instance, provide more opportunities for examining aspects of group differences in depth....

* * *

As schools move instruction out of the classroom into the community in voluntary and paid situations (what now is called "action learning"), the non-school setting learning experiences provide opportunities for success for youngsters who may not be equally successful in normal academic courses. Such opportunities provide all participants, the academically deprived and the advantaged, to experience close contacts with individuals and groups of different racial, ethnic, religious and social backgrounds under conditions which differ from those normally encountered in the school. These contacts can provide the core of intensive study and critiquing of real group differences in real life situations. Seminars, small group discussion, and sensitivity training groups can capitalize on the experiences in the community as a basis for understanding of group differences and similarities, of social processes, of the range and variety of behaviors within groups, and the origins of

individual and group behavior....

* * *

Through a "needs assessment" approach, teachers and students can identify group stereotypes and attitudes which can serve as the focus of discussion and study....

* * *

As researchers, Glock et al. probably did not report or discuss their findings with the schools which they studied. Yet the data on anti-Semitism and racial prejudice as manifested by the responses to the questionnaires could provide useful guidance for the design of instructional experiences for both staff and students. The data are quite sensitive, and neither staff nor students have ever been confronted with such information about themselves. All persons involved will have to learn how to use such data, but it could well serve as a test of Glock et al.'s hypothesis that prejudice can be controlled by enhancing cognitive adequacy....

* * *

Undoubtedly all will not go smoothly while the participants are acquiring the cognitive sophistication and the emotional balance necessary to confront such data meaningfully. However, the experience could be a productive one for both staff and students since both are not without prejudice. A "needs assessment" in the area of prejudice is something schools normally do not include in their assessment of students used to design educational experiences. Clearly it should be despite the learning needed to be able to handle it intelligently as a valid area for study....

* * *

As for instructional resources, the educational package Glock et al. propose should include a variety of media. If youngsters are to learn about the background of group differences, selections would need be made from the literature -- historical, biographical, dramatic, poetic, artistic -- which would provide the cultural and social sources of such differences. Films could be selected and film clips made to provide single concepts or themes as a focus for study and discussion. Videotapes could be made from televised programs dealing with stereotypes. Such an educational package should include multi-media materials specially selected or developed to focus on enhancing cognitive and attitudinal development in this area....

* * *

Glock et al. did not test the "assumptions on which schools operate -- that teachers are unprejudiced, that they are equipped to deal with prejudice when it arises as a problem, and that even teachers who have no explicit responsibility for instruction about prejudice will in informal ways make a positive contribution to such instruction." (p. 178)

One suspects with considerable assurance that had they tested these assumptions they would have found "that teachers, rather than being the positive force in combatting prejudice they are thought to be, may be exercising no leverage at all or on occasion be inadvertently doing harm." (p. 178) In fact, data from studies of teachers and administrators in situations where racial imabalance exists or where desegregation is taking place, as well as in schools where there are large numbers of "disadvantaged learners," confirms the existence of bias and bigotry among such staff. Where institutional racism exists, it is based on individual racism....

* * *

Any serious effort to develop an educational package to combat prejudice will have to consider staff development -- both at the pre-service and in-service levels. Such development will have to proceed along two dimensions, personal and professional. Both pre- and in-service programs will have to provide opportunities for staff members to come to understand the nature of their own prejudices and to increase their own cognitive sophistication regarding group differences and their origins. In addition, both pre- and in-service programs will have to provide opportunities for staff members to increase their knowledge, insights, and skills regarding the range of instructional programs and practices as well as the resources available to work with students in school and classroom. Teachers and administrators are part of the environment, part of the social system of the school....

* * *

Since the 1960's, with the initiation of the civil rights movement and the war on poverty -- both of which have had only limited success -- the schools have become the focus for upgrading the quality of education and providing more equal educational opportunity. The schools' efforts have tended to focus on the basic skills. Glock et al. propose raising the levels of cognitive sophistication as a means of contributing to upgrading the quality of education. A serious effort should be made to test this idea. While a federally or regionally coordinated effort is needed, there is much that individual school systems can do as integral parts of a broader effort. The time has come to mount such an effort as a means for dealing with many of the social problems which America faces today and in the years ahead.

* * *

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SMALL GROUP SESSIONS*

Although a Conference objective had been the formulation of models which could be tested in schools and teacher training institutions, the constraints of time and the unexpectedly large size of the groupings contributed to a different set of outcomes, which may in the long run be equally useful in the reduction of prejudice in the schools. These went beyond shared understandings as to the reality and complexity of the phenomenon to some general agreement as to directions which were indicated and a series of recommendations, both global and specific.

GENERAL AGREEMENTS

- Prejudice is indeed alive and flourishing all too well on many school campuses and in contemporary American society. Despite argument as to the validity of the present research, there is no question that the problem is real.

- Any attempt to reform the school must be systematic in nature. While increasing the cognitive sophistication of students is a worthwhile goal meriting further study and testing, focusing exclusively on increasing the cognitive sophistication of students would be too narrow to have substantial impact on institutionalized prejudice and discrimination.

- Institutional or systematic reform would include major aspects such as institutional norms, power relationships, verbal and non-verbal interactions between students and teachers, school culture, the curriculum materials, extra-curricular activities, counseling and testing programs. The proposals made by Professor Glock and his associates are not inconsistent with those of Dr. Mercer, but are actually complementary.

- School reform cannot take place without awareness of basic characteristics of American schools which tend to discount the kinds of high-level cognitive skills recommended by Dr. Glock.

- School reform cannot take place successfully unless a variety of people and communities are involved in the planning process, including parents, professional associations and unions, and the various parts of the total school community.

- Concern was expressed about the relatively sharp distinction which Glock et al. make between cognitive and effective components of prejudice. Cognitive-affective distinctions, it was felt, are best conceptualized as existing on a continuum. Often an individual's values influence the ways in which he/she perceives and processes data.

*Note: Appreciation for the content of this section of the Conference report must go to the perceptive reporters from the small groups: James A. Banks, H. Prentice Baptiste, Elizabeth Pellett, and M. Donald Thomas; and, of course, to the participants themselves.

- School reform efforts must be sanctioned at high levels within an institution and legitimatized by school administrators and school boards.

- The issue is not whether prejudice exists, but whether the cognitive sophistication model is the only base we should use for our implementation strategies, both in public educational institutions and in teacher-training institutions.

- The reality of school district operations suggests that the innovative strategies and methods be integrated into the totality in preference to add-on or adjunct programs.

- Adminstrators and other decision-makers must be willing to involve teachers, students and parents in the planning, development, and evaluation of strategies for analyzing and eliminating prejudiced attitudes in their school district.

- A salient factor relating to the success of prejudice reduction would be the need for those involved in the process of prejudice reduction to undergo self-analysis of their prejudicial beliefs and behaviors. Teacher-training institutions must be included.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Educational leadership should be enlisted in such a way as to require the certification and other accrediting of teachers and administrators to include appropriate training in pertinent disciplines.

- Re-training of educators with credentials should be encouraged by state educational agencies.

- Professional educational groups should be encouraged to direct a reasonable proportion of their energies to add their united strength to such efforts.

- Alliances with educational institutions in these efforts should be cultivated by such groups as ADL, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the educational institutions themselves.

- Analyses of textbooks' content and viewpoints should be encouraged by educators in concert with community leadership. A network which would communicate analysis techniques and results should be created linking school systems, state educational agencies, teacher-training institutions, and other interested agencies.

- The National School Boards Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and similar groups should be encouraged to include in their journals and in their meeting programs content material focused on the management and easing of prejudice.

- Seed money should be made available for a center to continue research on the nature and extent of prejudice and to provide information on procedures which would encourage people not to flee from interaction with one another as is indicated in the white flight from the central

cities. Since it is perceived that a governmental vacuum exists perhaps ADL might take the leadership in calling together an umbrella group with broad support to consider the development of such a research and demonstration center. However, it is well to remember that we all need to work on a broken front to achieve change, and both the center and ourselves need to emphasize the role of change in local school districts. A center should:

a. develop a plan of approach to reducing prejudice in society
b. not be tied to school desegregation
c. look at strategies that will allow for multiple directions and provide resources which will enable every level of education to effect changes.
d. test out strategies such as that proposed by Glock
e. look at strategies which extend over sufficient time to be effective to bring about change
f. secure a commitment from public media and public officials to support such social change; perhaps some approaches need to be made that would appeal to self-interest.

- ADL might send a letter to each participant at the conference requesting suggestions as to three schools and/or districts, which would be interested in participating in development programs to bring about change. Each of the participants, as well as ADL, needs to think of future actions which might be taken.

- This conference should be replicated at regional and state levels and brought as close to the local level as possible. Such conferences should take into account that findings and conclusions of the Glock study might be challenged and plans should be made to deal with this. Such conferences should include more than people who agree with one another and include elected political officials. A planning group should develop models for increasing cognitive sophistication; these should be made available to participants in order to enhance the value of the conferences.

- Committees of Correspondence in the colonies helped to develop a common cause. ADL might build on this idea by stimulating such activity among participants in the present and future conferences. Perhaps a first step might be certificates of attendance for participants in this first conference to remind them "on the walls of their offices" of their participation in a common, continuing cause.

- Cognitively sophisticated students need cognitively sophisticated teachers. Teacher training institutions need to design and implement strategies that will increase the cognitive sophistication of teachers. These institutions also need to help teachers to master strategies and methods that they can use to help their students become more cognitively sophisticated.

- We need to establish a system similar to the Human Relations Area Files in Anthropology. This system would include information about promising programs and practices in multiethnic education. This would be an effective way to share innovations and their results.

- There is a need for developing and testing alternative teacher training models which relate to multiethnic education. Some models would attempt to increase the cognitive sophistication of teachers and to teach them how to help students become more cognitively sophisticated.

- There need to be state requirements for teacher certification which relate to ethnic groups and prejudice. Some states, such as Wisconsin and Minnesota, have already developed such criteria for certification.

- Colleges of Education should establish required courses related to prejudice and discrimination which teacher education candidates must satisfy prior to graduation. The College of Education at the University of Washington, Seattle, already has such a requirement.

- We need a better selection and assignment process for teachers.

* * *

In his opening greetings to the Conference participants, Maxwell Greenberg commented, as follows:

> Today we are met to discuss the implications of Adolescent Prejudice, and its troubling conclusions that young people are plagued with the same ills of stereotyped thinking, racial, religious and class prejudice as their parents. In a sense we are here because of the culmination of the "Patterns of American Prejudice" project. But, if we are indeed -- with your help -- to translate these findings into positive action programs for our schools, this Conference is but a new beginning.

It seemed clear that in spite of -- or perhaps because of -- a few sociological detours, this was the way that most of the Conference participants perceived the Conference -- as a new beginning in a systematic and frontal attack on problems of prejudice in the schools.

APPENDIX

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